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THE PERIOD OF THE EXODUS.

OUR knowledge of the Exodus is mainly derived from the Bible and from Manetho as quoted by Josephus.

It is not necessary to recapitulate the account contained in the Book of Exodus, of the plagues, the variable-ness of Pharaoh, the flight, the pursuit, and the catastrophe. It is imprinted on the mind of the reader from childhood.

The narrative of Manetho is less familiar. It is in brief as follows:

An Egyptian king, Amenophis, desired to behold the gods, and, in accordance with priestly advice, purified his kingdom by separating all the lepers and unclean persons from the rest of the people, and assigning for their residence the old city of Avaris, once the stronghold of the Shepherd Kings. These unfortunates selected as their ruler a priest of Heliopolis named Osarsiph, who enacted a set of rules forbidding worship of the Egyptian gods; and caused them to fortify their city and prepare for war with the king. He further invoked the aid of the expelled race who had occupied Jerusalem,—and who came to his assistance with an army of two hundred thousand men. Amenophis did not venture to engage his allied enemies, but retired with his army to Ethiopia, where with a multitude of fugitives, he remained thirteen years. Osarsiph, whose name had been changed to Moses, ravaged Egypt during all these years; burning cities and villages and de-

stroying the images of the gods, eating the sacred animals and expelling the priests. At the end of the thirteen years—the prophetic period fixed for his exclusion—Amenophis returned with a great force, and Ramses his son with other forces, and encountered the foreigners and unclean people, defeated them, slew multitudes of them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria.

While the discrepancies of these accounts are quite obvious and are justly emphasized by Josephus, some fundamental facts are common. There was an oppressed class regarded by the Egyptians with aversion as impure and irreligious, settled apart in northeastern Egypt. During the latter part of their stay, great evils and troubles befell the nation and government. They were pursued from the country.

It was for some time supposed that contemporary Egyptian annals threw no new light on these important and unique events. I will endeavor to show that this is not the case, and that other sources of information enable us to contemplate the period of the Exodus somewhat more clearly, with its general activity and wide spreading innovations.

The latter part of the great Sallier Papyrus contains a concise account of the events recorded by Manetho. King Ramses III in an address to his soldiers says:

“The land of Egypt had fallen into a state of ruin, and every man did that which it seemed right for him to do, and for very many years the people had no chief governor who was able to maintain dominion over the others. The land of Egypt was in the hands of governors of the nomes, and among the nobles and lords of the land one killed the other. There came a period after that of years of want and great misery, and Arsu the Syrian made himself prince over them. He placed the whole country under tribute to him, and each man gathered whatsoever he could for himself, and plundered the property of others, and they treated the gods in this manner likewise as well as men, and the sacrifices which ought to have been

made to the gods in the temples according to law were never offered up at all. Then the gods overthrew those men and brought peace into the country, and they made the country to be what it ought to be, and fashioned it according to what was right. And they established their son who had proceeded from their members to be the prince of every land which was under their throne. Rausrkhausetepenrameramen, son of the sun Setnekht-nerer-Ramerer-Amen. And he became like Khepera Set when he burneth with wrath and rageth, and he provided with all things the land which was in a condition of revolt and misery. He slew all those who were disloyal in the land of the inundation, and he purified the great throne of Egypt. He became the sovereign prince of two lands upon the throne of the god Tem. He gave himself to a reconstruction of the things which had fallen into a state of decay, and at length every man regarded as his brethren those who had been divided from him as by a wall. He established the temples and provided them with divine offerings, and men made the offerings which they ought to make unto the company of the gods according to their ordinances.

"He raised me up as heir to the throne on the seat of the earth-god Seb, to be the great governor of the Egyptian dominions in care of the whole people who have found themselves united again.

"And he went to his rest out of his orbit of light like the company of the celestials. The rites of Osiris were accomplished for him. He was borne in his royal boat over the river, and was laid in his everlasting house on the west side of Thebes.

"And my father Amon the lord of the gods, and Ra and Ptah with the beautiful face caused me to be crowned as lord of the land on the throne of my parent."¹

That this speech of Ramses III and Manetho's account describe the same events is quite evident. The confusion and desolation of Northern Egypt, the cessation of temple worship, and temporary predominance of Osarsiph, or Arisu, the restoration of order by Setnekht, followed by his admission of his son Ramses to important public stations, are in strict accordance with Manetho.

Ramses III to whom the above address is ascribed, was one of the most famous of the Egyptian kings. He

¹ *Vide* Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, Vol. V, 145; and Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, Vol. II, 143. In the latter part I follow Brugsch as less technical.

well deserved the promotion awarded him in his youth, mentioned both by him and Manetho. His reign revived the glories of Thotmes III and Ramses II. He repelled the Lybians and northern invaders, and successfully invaded Palestine and northern Syria. The inscription on the east face of the great pylon of Medinet-Habu shows the numerous cities reduced under his control, and gives minute though not now thoroughly comprehended information respecting the geography of Palestine before the occupation of the Israelites. The above quoted Sallier Papyrus shows him, in its other parts, as a devout worshiper of the gods, and contains inventories of his rich and varied offerings. Such profusion of wealth, gathered from the spoils of foreign countries and the revenues of a well-ordered state, gained him the reputation of being the wealthiest of all kings. As such Herodotus mentions him, calling him the wealthy and miserly king Rhampsinitus. Brugsch shows that at home he bore the title of *Ramessu pa nuter* (Ramses the God), from which the Greeks derived the name found in Herodotus and Diodorus.

His father Setnekht thus appears as the Pharaoh of the time of Moses. But the name Setnekht is not that given by Manetho, who calls the father of Ramses by the name of Amenophis. How does this discrepancy occur? Neither Ramses III nor any other Ramses was the son or immediate successor of an Amenophis. If we compare the succession of sovereigns of that period as stated by Manetho, with the monuments, we find some confusion. The monuments show the following list of kings of the XIXth Dynasty:

Ramses I.
Seti I.
Ramses II. (Reigned 66 years.)
Merneptah I.

Seti II.
 Amunmesu.
 Siptah.

The XXth Dynasty begins:

Setnekht.
 Ramses III.
 Ramses IV, and so on with kings named Ramses to the
 end of the dynasty with XIII.

Manetho's list of the XIXth Dynasty is:

Sethos.
 Ramses (Reigned for 66 years.)
 Amenepthes. (Reigned for 20 years.)
 Ramses. (Reigned for 60 years.)
 Amenemes. (Reigned for 5 years.)
 Thuoris or Polybos. (Reigned for 7 years.)

He begins his list of the XXth Dynasty with Ne-
 kepsis, and it only contains one king named Ramses,
 instead of thirteen, and names a series of other kings
 not found on the monuments.

Manetho is substantially correct in his statement of the length of the reign of Ramses II. It was sixty-seven years. He may be correct in that of Amenepthes or Merneptah, his son, though the highest monumental number of the latter is eight. He follows Merneptah with another Ramses reigning sixty years—evidently a repetition. So treating it, we find the successor of Merneptah, according to Manetho, to be Amenemes. This king was probably the Amunmesu of the monuments, but as he appears in Manetho as the immediate predecessor of Thuoris (whom we shall find to be Ramses III), it is most probable that he is the person whom Manetho calls Amenophis. Manetho in one place calls him Amenophis and in another, Amenemes, thus presenting them both as the father of Ramses III. We can only rely on Manetho when he can be reconciled with the Sallier Papyrus. That document represents Setnekht as the father of Ramses III, and

shows that they cooperated in restoring peace after the disorders occasioned by Arisu.

The name Osarsiph is given by Manetho. Birch and Eisenlohr read it Aarsu. Brugsch makes it Arisu, or Alisu, or Alius. Budge reads it Arsu. It may be read Osarsiph. The best reading now practicable is Iarsw. The papyrus calls him a Khar or Khal. This term translated by Brugsch, Phœnician, was applied not merely to that people, but also to the Semitic population extending from Tanis to Aupa in northern Syria.² Manetho says that Osarsiph was a priest in the temple of Osiris at On. This does not necessarily imply that he was a member of the sacerdotal class. There were lay priests in the Egyptian temples, who alternated in the care of accounts and revenues.³ They had good opportunities of learning whatever was taught. Of such a scholar it might well come to be said that he knew all the wisdom of the Egyptians.

On (Heliopolis) was a seat of learning to which in after centuries, Greek students repaired. There Pythagoras studied under his master Oinuphis. There Amenophis IV had founded, within a century before Moses, a temple to Aten the god of a peculiar monotheistic worship, hostile to that of the Egyptian gods.⁴ Osarsiph could not have been ignorant of this religion, and he exhibited even a fiercer hatred of the gods of Egypt than was shown by the heretic king. The same spirit was shown by Moses when Aaron set up an image of the Egyptian god Mnevis.⁵

Some confusion has arisen from the fact that Manetho represents Amenophis (Amen hotep) as consulting a

² Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, Vol. I, 256.

³ *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, XL, 113.

⁴ *Idem*, 112.

⁵ The relations between Hebrew monotheism and that of Amenophis IV have excited much discussion, but are imperfectly understood. Both were exclusive. Breasted in *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, XL, 106.

prophet of his own name, the son of Papi. Amenophis III really had a renowned chancellor, Amenophis the son of Hapi. The impossibility of regarding the Exodus as occurring in the reign of Amenophis III or his successor Amenophis IV has led some Egyptologists to deny that the account of Manetho has any reference to the Hebrew Exodus. To suppose, as Edward Meyer does, that the Egyptian historian had in mind only the religious schism of Amenophis IV is to discredit both Manetho and the Exodus account, and relegate the whole subject to the realm of unintelligible myth. As well take the position of Dr. Inman, who maintains with great earnestness that the Jews never were in Egypt.

The confusion seems to have its origin in the fact that there was at Memphis a temple of Amhotep, the god of prophecy, whom of all others Setnekht, a Memphite man desirous of knowing the future, would be most likely to consult.

When did the Exodus occur? Evidently during the latter portion of the reign of Setnekht; that is to say, a short time before that of Ramses III began. Dr. Mahler, the principal authority on Egyptian chronology, fixes the year 1240 B. C., as the first year of Ramses III.⁶ Bunsen has shown that Hebrew chronology throws only a feeble light on the question.⁷ The irreconcilable statements of the received text, the Septuagint, and Josephus, and the doubt which of the Judges are synchronous, throw the matter into confusion. One gleam of light is visible. There were between Aaron, who was the high priest at the time of the Exodus, and Zadoc, who anointed Solomon B. C. 1010, eleven high priests succeeding each other

⁶ *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, XXXII, 102. Mahler's conclusions are regarded as substantially correct for dates not earlier than the XVIIth dynasty.

⁷ *Aegypten's Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, I, 218. The subject is exhaustively treated in IV, 320.

by the law of primogeniture. Taking twenty-two years, the average length of the reigns of hereditary monarchs, as a criterion, their administrations would fill a period of two hundred and forty-two years, or only ten years more than the interval between B. C. 1010, and 1242. This estimate, however unreliable as to the exact numbers, is sufficiently near the truth to discredit the period of four hundred years of the received text, (440 of the Septuagint) given as intervening between the Exodus and the building of the temple, and to indicate approximately the correctness of the date above given.

Ramses II is recognized by most Egyptologists as the Pharaoh of the persecution. He it was who built, or at least greatly enlarged the cities of Rameses and Pithom, and imposed severe labor on the Israelites. Impressive as anything in the Book of Exodus, is a sentence in the dialogue between him and Ptah in respect to the great temple to that god which he built in Memphis. The king says:⁸ "I brand with a hot iron the foreign peoples of the whole earth. They are thine forevermore." This king ascended the throne B. C. 1347, at the age of 20 years and reigned 67 years, or until 1280. The above inscription is of the 35th year of his reign, and commemorates the completion of the temple. He had a large family of children by wives and concubines. Among the daughters was a younger one,—the Princess Meri. It cannot be far out of the way to assume that she was a grown up girl at about the date of the above inscription. Eusebius says it was she who found the infant Moses. The birth of the foundling was probably not far from this date, or B. C. 1312. At the accession of Merneptah in 1280, he would thus have been thirty-two years old. At the period of the Exodus, 1242, he would have been seventy. The Exodus account says he was eighty.

⁸ Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, II, 90.

Merneptah succeeded Ramses II. His oldest monumental year is the eighth. The principal event of the first part of his reign was a great invasion from the west, occurring in his fifth year and triumphantly repelled. There is preserved an official account of this invasion, and also a hymn of triumph. The latter mainly celebrates the victory over the Lybians, but contains a verse that is sometimes cited as proof that the Israelites were in Palestine at the time. As translated by Spiegelberg it reads:⁹ "Wasted is Thnw: Cheta quieted: Canaan with all the vile seized: Gezer captured: Jenóam brought to naught: Israel devastated and its crops destroyed: Hor has become like the widows of Egypt. All lands are at peace." The countries named are Lybia; Cheta (the country of the Hittites); Canaan, the lowlands of the coast and of the Jordan Valley; and Hor, southern Palestine. Beside these, four cities are named: Askalon, Gezer, Janoam and Israel. The first two are well recognized. "Janoam" is probably the Janina of Josephus, the *Jabne-el*¹⁰ of the Hebrew text, and "Israel" is *Jezre'el*,¹¹ lying to the north of the others. The hymn may contain an allusion to their names, for it appears that the first which claims to have been built by God is brought to nothing, and the harvest which God has sown is devastated.¹² The language of Palestine was not unfamiliar to educated Egyptians, as the Tel el Amarna tablets show. The hymn probably commemorates incidentally some expedition which brought those four cities into subjection,—an exploit magnified into an establishment of authority throughout Syria. There is nothing to show that the Hebrews were in Palestine in

⁹ *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, XXXIV, 14.

¹⁰ יַבְנֵאֵל

¹¹ יִזְרְעֵאל

¹² *Jabne'el*, "God has built." *Jezre'el*, "God has sown." A similar word play is found in the next sentence, "*Khar* (Syria) has become like the *khart* (widows) of Egypt."

Merneptah's time. If there in the fifth year of his reign, after forty years of wandering, they must have left Egypt, at latest, when Moses was a child, and in the midst of the prosperity of Ramses II.

Merneptah was succeeded by his son Seti II, whose highest monumental year is the second. As to what happened in Egypt after the death of Seti II we know little from any other source than the Sallier Papyrus. Siptah, a son of Seti II, with his queen Tauser appears, and another king, Amennesu, followed by Setnekht. It is supposed that the two former were rival claimants of the throne, whose conflict was the beginning of anarchy. The Sallier Papyrus shows that there were three periods:

1. A considerable period of anarchy such as would naturally occur during a disputed succession, different nomarchs engaging in feuds at will, without restraint from any central power.

2. A period of scarcity during which Arisu raised himself to power and spoiled the Egyptians, and insulted their gods. In the Exodus account, this period of scarcity is treated as one of various miraculous plagues.

3. The establishment of the authority of Setnekht, who punished the guilty and brought in prosperity.

Arisu, who was the ruling spirit during the later anarchy, had, according to Manetho, attained priestly accomplishments, and according to the biblical account, became versed in the wisdom of the Egyptians. According to Josephus, he had also a large military experience, having been commander in a war against Kush, or Nubia. Brugsch discovers a certain Mas who was viceroy of Kush in the latter part of the reign of Ramses II, and in that of Merneptah. The Exodus account represents him as escaping by flight the penalty of homicide, while Josephus adds a court cabal against his life. After a lengthened absence, the general disorder rendered his return safe.

Times of turmoil bring oppressed classes to the front, and men of capacity and energy assume their leadership. This man of tremendous capacity and energy became a leader, and conducted his people out of Egypt. Their departure was at last a precipitate retreat. Smoke signals by day and fire signals by night furnished information to the pursued of the motions of their pursuers. A beach bared by a strong wind afforded a passage, and the reflux waves checked pursuit with serious loss to those who followed carelessly. The pursued rejoiced that Jehovah had saved his chosen people from destruction; the pursuers, that their gods had freed their country of a dangerous element, though prohibiting pursuit beyond the frontier.

Ramses III entered on a long and prosperous reign of thirty-two years. He made several campaigns in Palestine and Syria, and fully restored the authority of Egypt. In these campaigns he found no Jews in Palestine. His march was not confined to the coast country. Hebron, Jerusalem and the cities of Moab were brought beneath his power, as well as the cities of the coast. He is said by Maspero to have introduced the Philistines to the region thereafter occupied by them. If his garrisons had occupied southern Palestine when it was reconnoitered by the Hebrews, their dismay and retreat are readily explicable. At any rate, no entrance into the west Jordan land could be attempted during his life, or probably during the six years reign of his son Ramses IV.

Under Ramses V, anarchy broke out again in Egypt. There was a conflict between ecclesiastical authority, vigorously maintained by the high priests of Amon, and civil authority, feebly maintained by short-lived kings; between Upper and Lower Egypt, which differed slightly in people and dialect; perhaps an economic reaction against the heavy taxation and profuse expenditure of the reign of Ramses III, like that in Judea under Rehoboam. It was

a fatal blow to the prestige of Egypt. The forty years of power of the Egyptian kings after the departure of the Hebrews toward the close of Setnekht's reign, and the anarchy which succeeded these forty years, explain why the Hebrews were forty years on their migrations. When that forty years closed, Egypt became, as to foreign influence, a mere cypher, and so remained for about two centuries. Joshua met with no opposition from the Egyptians. The impotence of the ruling country had given independence to every city and district. There is no evidence that the Jewish conqueror thought of the Egyptians while subduing the thirty-one kinglets who severally or in small combinations opposed him; no evidence that any considerable body of Egyptian troops passed out beyond the ramparts of Migdol before the time of Solomon.

Manetho represents the Jews as a collection of the diseased and leprous population of Egypt,—a view absurd in itself, since such a community would soon have become extinct,—and greatly resented by Josephus; but probably having a foundation in the religious ideas of the Egyptians. Inscriptions of Merneptah and Ramses III show that in counting their slain enemies, the circumcised and uncircumcised were separately enumerated. All uncircumcised persons were impure. It is probable that great numbers of those who left Egypt with Moses were uncircumcised, and therefore impure. The growth of national hatred in later times exaggerated this technical impurity to the frightful extent appearing in Manetho's narrative. It is true that this view of the non-circumcision of the departing Jews is expressly contradicted by the received Hebrew text, which says: "Now all the people that came out were circumcised, but all the people that were born in the wilderness by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, them had they not circumcised." (Joshua v. 5.) But the Septuagint gives an entirely different account.

It says that Joshua circumcised whosoever were born on the way, and whosoever of those that had gone out of Egypt, were uncircumcised. And again: "For most of the fighting men who went out of Egypt, were uncircumcised."¹³ The text which the Greek translators had before them is likely to be more correct than our received version. The great medley¹⁴ that went up also with them, (Ex. xii. 37) were probably other foreigners reduced to servitude in the Delta. If this view is correct it is readily seen how the Egyptians would brand as impure a community containing a large percentage of uncircumcised persons; and not practising the rite for forty years. Its renewal by Joshua at Gilgal "rolled off the reproach of Egypt" from his people.

Classic authors confirm the Hebrew and Egyptian accounts, and afford an invaluable synchronism. Pliny speaks of "Rhameses quo regnante Ilium captum est." To which of the numerous kings named Ramses does he refer? A reference to Herodotus answers the question.¹⁵ That historian relates that Paris came to Egypt with Helen just before the Trojan War, and found there a king whose name in the Greek language was Proteus. He goes on to relate that Rhampsinitus was the son of Proteus. As Rhampsinitus is certainly identified with Ramses III, Proteus is thus identified with Setnekht. That which is a necessary inference from the language of He-

¹³ The Hebrew text is:

כִּי מִלִּים הָיוּ כָּל הָעָם הַיְּעִים וְכָל הָעָם הַיִּלָּדִים בְּמִדְבָּר בְּהַרְךְ כְּאִתָּהֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם לֹא
מָלִי

But the Septuagint says:

"Ὅσοι ποτὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ ὅσοι ποτὲ ἀπερίτμητοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐλληλαθότων ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πάντας τούτους περιέτεμεν Ἰησοῦς,

and again:

διὸ ἀπερίτμητοι ἦσαν οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν τῶν μαχίμων τῶν ἐλληλαθότων ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

The translators had no such text before them as that of our received version.

¹⁴ עֲרֵבֶרֶב ἐπιμίκτος πολὺς.

¹⁵ Herod. II, 112.

rodotus, appears clearly stated by Diodorus, who says (Diod. Sic. I, 62) :

“After this king (Mendes), anarchy occurred for five generations. One of the obscure men was chosen king whom the Egyptians call Ketena, but among the Greeks he seems to be Proteus, who lived during the Trojan War. What the priests say of him agrees with what is handed down concerning Proteus’ acquaintance with spirits and changes of form ; for they say that from association with astrologists, which he held continually, the king had acquaintance with such matters ; and that the Greek fable concerning changes of form was derived from a usage handed down among Egyptian kings, that the rulers of Egypt should wear on their heads, faces of lions, bulls and dragons, emblems of authority : and sometimes trees, and anon fire, and sometimes many agreeable spices ; and thus they array themselves for ornament or for inspiring astonishment and superstitious feeling. After the death of Proteus, Remphis his son, inheriting the kingdom, spent his whole life in attending to his revenues and amassing wealth from every source.”

Lepsius identifies Ketena with Setnekht, and there can be no mistake in this. But why did the Greeks call him Proteus? The noun Proteus,¹⁶ like most nouns terminating in *eus*,¹⁷ denotes a member of a class. It is derived from *protos*,¹⁸ and points to a class of which each member is a first man. To only one Egyptian king, Menes, could the word *protos* be applied, but every first king of a dynasty was a *Proteus*, and Setnekht was the first king of the twentieth dynasty. Herodotus and Diodorus speak of him as a parvenue, and he seems from a careful examination of his tomb, to have appropriated that of King Siphthah and his queen Tauser to his own use, which would not have happened had he been in the line of legitimate succession.

The Odyssey represents Menelaos as visiting Egypt after the capture of Troy, and mentions among his wealth articles of value given him by Polybus and his wife Alcandra at their house in Thebes. It is not expressly stated

¹⁶ Πρωτεύς.

¹⁷ ὡς ἄλιεύς, ἱερεύς, βραβεύς, ἱππεύς.

¹⁸ Πρωτός.

that Polybus was king of Egypt, but as he entertained a king and gave kingly gifts, the presumption arose that he was himself a king. Syncellus speaks of him as "Thuoris, called Polybus by Homer, in whose time Ilium was taken." These names are not Egyptian but Greek, and point to Ramses III. The word *Polybos*, as Eustathius explains, means wealthy. Thuoris¹⁹ is in some manuscripts *thures*²⁰ and seems to be a slightly varied form of *thyoros*²¹ a sacrificant, or preparer of sacrifices. These epithets fit the wealthiest of kings, whose unprecedentedly great sacrifices to Amun are enumerated in the Sallier Papyrus, and surpass those of all other kings ancient or modern.

Setnekht was on the throne immediately before the Trojan War, and Ramses III when Troy was captured. The capture then occurred early in the reign of the latter king. If Mahler's computation of the reign of Ramses III is correct, the city fell between B. C. 1240 and 1235. That it was near the former date is probable. Herodotus, writing about B. C. 443, says that the capture of Troy occurred eight hundred years before his time. A scintilla of evidence in the same direction is found in the Odyssey.²² Odysseus tells Eumaeus of his feigned adventures as follows: He returned to Crete with Idomeneus at the close of the Trojan War, and there fitted out a predatory expedition to Egypt. Recruits flocked to him and filled his ships at once. What more plausible, when there were so many disbanded veterans of the war? The invaders landed on the Egyptian main, and were in the full tide of plunder, devastation and enslavement of captives, when the king of Egypt arrived. The disguised hero describes the terrors of the Egyptian array, the rout and slaughter of the marauders, and how he crept to the king's knees and obtained mercy. Though it was but a feigned tale, it could only obtain credence by connection with some known fact.

¹⁹ θονῶρις.²⁰ θούρης.²¹ θυῶρος.²² XIV, 305.

Now in fact there occurred in the fifth year of Ramses III, an invasion of Egypt by the Lybians assisted by northern peoples. That Greeks participated in the invasion is proven by the representation at Medinet Abou, of Ramses III smiting the Danana (the *Danaoi*²³ of Homer) with his battle-axe. Among others of his opponents are mentioned the Leku or Lycians, whose connection with Crete is well known,²⁴ with others whose identification is less reliable. The naval power and piratical habits of the Cretans make it extremely probable that they engaged in expeditions against Egypt of the kind described by Homer, and that the idea of such an expedition occurring soon after the Trojan War, was familiar to men who lived in Homeric times.

The above synchronisms enable us to form an estimate of the period of the Exodus. Egypt was at the height of military, financial and literary splendor, but verging on decline. The scattered communities of Hellas had come to a consciousness of collective power, and united in a great undertaking. Though the thalattocracy of Minos had gone by, Cretan corsairs waylaid the paths of Phœnician commerce and ravaged the Egyptian coast. The Hebrews entered upon conflicts beyond the Jordan, and from a rude horde of emigrants, became a nation. It was a period of organization, of energy and of activity,—one of those periods that shine out in history, and are followed by times of dullness and obscurity. Such a period appears in Egyptian, Greek and Hebrew history. The time of the later Ramessids in Egypt, of the Judges in Palestine, of the age succeeding the Trojan War in Greece, remind one of the Merovingian and later Carlovingian eras in France.

In such active periods not only does history flourish, but myths arise. How fruitful the Trojan War has been of the latter need hardly be alluded to, but this discussion

²³ *Δαναοί*.

²⁴ Hoeck, *Kreta*, II, 337.

cannot be closed without reference to the Greek myths about the Egyptian king Proteus. As early as the time of Homer, the mythical character of the old man of the sea was attached to him.²⁵ He came with the flock of Poseidon from the watery depths, to take his daily repose on the isle of Pharos, off the Egyptian coast. Menelaos under the direction of Eidotheia, seizes him, and notwithstanding his struggles and changes of form into a lion, a dragon, etc., holds him and compels him to prophesy. Historical features show dimly through this atmosphere of fable. Here is a reminiscence of the changeful Pharaoh of Exodus,—the Amenophis of Manetho,—timid, superstitious and addicted to vaticination. But the feature of submersion in the sea is most prominent. It does not appear either in the Hebrew or Egyptian accounts, that the king perished in the sea, nor does Proteus seem to have been the worse for frequent submersion.

The myth related by Tzetzes presents us with Proteus as an Egyptian king, son of Poseidon, who went to Thrace and there married Torone. His sons by this marriage were undutiful, and he prayed to his father Poseidon to carry him back to Egypt. The great god of ocean led him back to Egypt by a miraculous tunnel beneath the sea. Here again is Setnekht, absent, returning; submerged, triumphant. His mythical family are instructive. As in the Odyssey, he had a daughter Eidothea,—one who sees God,—so in the other myth, he had a daughter Theonoe,—one who knows God. The aspiration of Manetho's king was to see the gods. He had an elder son Tmolus, slain by Hercules, and also a younger son Teligonus,—later born. The first born son of the Pharaoh of Exodus died, and the epithet Teligonus would fit Ramses III. The name of another son Polygonus seems an epithet appro-

²⁵ Odyssey IV, 365. The myth of Proteus is much like that of Nereus.

priate to Ramses III. He was *Polygonos*,²⁶ prolific—as appears from his eighteen sons, several of whom reigned, and his fourteen daughters. Another son was Theoclymenus—renowned god,—which seems an attempt to translate his title of Ramses-pa-neter. We can see in these myths, as in history, the features of the superstitious, timid and vacillating king, and his illustrious son, with a prominent idea of submersion without harm in the sea.

The vault of Deir el Bahri has given up the body of Ramses III. Lauret has found that of Setnekht, and the faded lineaments of him whom Moses saw in the field of Zoan, meet the eyes of the men of the twentieth century; but Moses was buried obscurely, and “no man knoweth of his sepulchre until this day.”

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²⁶ Πολυγόνος.